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THE SCIENTIFIC LIFE OF SERGEI A. TOKAREV

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Original Article

© *Elena Elkova and Evgeniya Tokareva*

SERGEY ALEXANDROVICH TOKAREV: HIS FAMILY, FRIENDS, AND STUDENTS

The article focuses on the genealogy of the distinguished Soviet ethnographer Sergei Alexandrovich Tokarev, which is documented in the family archive. His mother was a descendant of the esteemed Tula clergy families Darsky, Karkadinovsky and Lyapidevsky, his father Alexander Ivanovich Tokarev was an outstanding teacher, state councilor, inspector of the Tula gymnasium, and later a teacher in the city of Aleksin school, who also founded a school for the peasants of the village of Shchukino in the Tula province. The article delineates the influence of parents and other relatives on the formation of personality, habits and beliefs of Sergei Alexandrovich Tokarev. The article also elucidates his role in the lives of his brother and sister, children and grandchildren, as well as numerous Russian and foreign students. The distinctive character traits of S. A. Tokarev, including kindness, remarkable memory, incredible efficiency, broad perspectives, dedication to hard work and an insatiable appetite for knowledge, along with other qualities that distinguish him among his relatives and colleagues, have ensured that he will be remembered not only in the annals of science but also in the hearts of people.

Keywords: Tokarev Sergey Alexandrovich, ethnographer, religious scholar, family, friends, students

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Original Article

© *Tatyana Solovey*

THE COURAGE OF PUBLIC REASON: SERGEI ALEXANDROVICH TOKAREV AS A HISTORIOGRAPHER

S. A. Tokarev founded the Russian historiographical tradition, laying the conceptual framework for studying the history of Russian ethnography (its pre-Soviet period), and the origins and history of foreign ethnology. Here we regard historiography in its professional sense and not just as a functional appendage of scientific research. In the author's interpretation, historiography is not only (and not so much) a narrative about the past, but rather an internal dialogue of science and its self-reflection, a refined form of research into the past and modernity. S. A. Tokarev's appeal to this genre dates back to the turn of the 1940s–1950s, when a unique constellation of conditions for a successful historiographical search developed. These conditions were rooted both in the internal scientific dynamics (ethnography had acquired a stable status of an independent discipline and a high degree of maturity of professional discourse) and in external circumstances (here the ideological vector coincided with the public sentiment — the struggle against cosmopolitanism on the one hand and the legitimate pride of the victorious people on the other). In this context it was crucial to create a respectable historiographical tradition, which would highlight the significant (and in the Soviet era - the leading) role of Russian science in the global context. The author's interest is not in the analysis of S. A. Tokarev's historiographical concept, but rather in the circumstances and conflicts (interdisciplinary, political and ideological) surrounding the preparation and publication of vast historiographical works. The article touches upon the usually neglected topic about scientific preferences and the specifics of a scientist's research strategy as a projection of his psychotype. Why was it Tokarev who made the historiographical breakthrough? How was the "research laboratory" of a Soviet scientist organized, constrained by the rigid framework of planning, by external (political and ideological) and internal (scientific community) censorship, and under conditions of chronic academic and teaching overload? These issues are of considerable scientific interest.

Keywords: *S. A. Tokarev, historiography, history of Russian ethnography, history of foreign ethnology, "disciplinary authority", Department of Ethnography of Moscow State University, Institute of Ethnography, S. P. Tolstov, M. O. Kosven, N. N. Cheboksarov*

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SERGEY ALEXANDROVICH TOKAREV AND THE INTELLECTUAL LANDSCAPE OF SOVIET YAKUTIA: A HISTORICAL AND HERMENEUTIC RECONSTRUCTION

This article is devoted to the Yakut period in the biography of the famous scientist S. A. Tokarev. The Archive of the Yakut Scientific Center of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences contains a corpus of a few ego-documents related to the period of collaboration between Professor Sergei A. Tokarev and the Yakut Institute (1935-1959), the personal fund of the repressed ethnographer and orientalist Gavriil V. Ksenofontov and the historian Vasilii N. Chemezov. The study employs the methodology of “new biographical history” (social personal history), through which the formation of S. A. Tokarev’s individual scientific strategy during the period of early Soviet society’s construction is traced. The intellectual biography is reconstructed in the historical and hermeneutic space of the studied era, which allows the authors to reveal the social context of the historical narrative in which S. A. Tokarev’s scientific worldview was formed. The new interpretation of the scientists’ biography highlights the moment when the academic northern studies commenced in Moscow and the development of regional ethnography in Siberia, while S. A. Tokarev was actively involved in the scientific discourse between the «center» and the «periphery» on both sides of the complex integration process.

Keywords: *Soviet Yakutia, intellectual landscape, biographical and hermeneutic reconstruction, discussions, national narrative, memory, northern studies and Yakut ethnography, scientist’s strategy*

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SERGEY A. TOKAREV'S CONCEPTUAL IDEAS ON THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE YAKUTS IN THE 17TH CENTURY AND THE MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY

The article discusses the outstanding contribution of S. A. Tokarev (1899–1985) to the study of the Yakuts' social organization in the 17th century employing a modern theoretical and methodological approach. Although the researcher generally worked within the strict framework of the formational approach commonly accepted in Soviet historiography, sometimes he managed to go beyond it in an effort to be objective. This was possible due to his deep knowledge of not only ethnographic materials, but also of Russian written sources of the 17th century. He studied huge arrays of cursive columns from the funds of the Siberian Prikaz and the Yakut Voivode's Hut, stored in the central archives, and used them in a comparative analysis with other sources. The original concept of the social organization of the Yakuts in the 17th century that he developed in the 1930s and subsequently revised in his major works in the 1940–1950s, made an outstanding contribution to Russian historiography, supplemented it with new data and offered a holistic view of the historical and ethnographic realities of the Yakut late medieval society. However, S. A. Tokarev's intention to remain on reliable historical ground, based on specific documentary sources of the 17th century, provoked substantial criticism. His research was cast in a continuous search for the closest scientific definitions to the categories of social organization of the Yakuts, which he identified. He used the entire toolkit of theoretical approaches and research methods and his experience, based on the best traditions of Russian historical and ethnographic science. Modern achievements of Yakut studies of historical knowledge confirm the scientific significance and relevance of the main conclusions and observations of S. A. Tokarev.

Keywords: *S. A. Tokarev, social organization of the Yakuts in the 17th century, historiography, sources, Yakut studies*

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S. A. TOKAREV ON RELIGION: THE CELESTIAL AND THE TERRESTRIAL IN THE SOVIET CONTEXT

S. A. Tokarev wrote on a variety of topics, yet his primary academic interest was the study of religion. He was a scholar of his time, holding Marxist views and approaching the analysis of religion from a materialistic perspective, but he never departed from strict and consistent logic, avoiding unquestioning acceptance of the official point of view. All this was clearly manifested in his contributions to the debate on religion that unfolded on the pages of the journal Soviet Ethnography in 1979 — 1981. In the article that initiated the discussion, S.A. Tokarev offered ethnographers his own vision of the study of religion, which extended beyond the ideologized officialism, and outlined the subject matter of the ethnographic study of religion. He posed questions that were not quite typical of his time and slightly above the ideological restrictions of the period. He expanded the issues significant for the ethnographer, while not denying but rather emphasizing the importance of the study of folk forms of religiosity — the main direction in the study of religion by ethnographers at that time (along with the study of primitive beliefs). S. A. Tokarev, one of the founders of the Soviet ethnographic school and a key figure in the development of the system of higher ethnographic education in the USSR, was a scholar of his era. But the works of scholars like him facilitated the continuity with the old school and did not fatally isolate the Soviet humanities from the global academic community. In fact, the issues raised by S. A. Tokarev are also in line with the contemporary challenges facing the ethnological/anthropological study of religion: religious identity and its relationship to other forms of cultural identity, religious conversion and related shifts in identity, different manifestations and new forms of religiosity, global religious movements, the complexities of religious statistics, the religious and the secular.

Keywords: *S. A. Tokarev, Soviet historiography, religion, ethnography, debate*

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SERGEY A. TOKAREV AS AN EXPERT AND HIS FIELD DIARIES AS AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SOURCE

The article is devoted to one of the most fascinating “episodes” in the scientific life of Sergey A. Tokarev, namely his work as an expert member of the International Commission for the Establishment of New Postwar Frontiers. This was the case when ethnographers’ knowledge was in demand not only at the state level but also at the international one. In the 40s and 50s of the last century, one of the most pressing issues of international politics was the question of the statehood of Julijska Krajina (Croatian and Slovene; Engl. The Julian March) or Venezia Giulia (Italian; Engl. Julian Venetia). Trieste is a city and a region, which is a paradigmatic case for all historians and politicians dealing with borders and minorities. The so-called “Trieste model” is often recalled when dealing with the problem of disputed territories. Today, this historic territory is divided between three states: Italy, Slovenia, and Croatia. But such a division took a long time to be established, in which different players participated. The fate of the region was decided in several stages. The main criterion for drawing the border after World War II was the ethnic composition of the population in the disputed territories. The USSR played an important role in making the decision. Sergey A. Tokarev, a prominent Russian ethnographer, was a member of the commission that drew the borders. During his foreign trips in 1946–1947, S. A. Tokarev kept diaries in which he recorded daily everything that happened to him during the day, his observations during meetings and trips to Istria and northeast Italy. The diary is written in such detail that it is a living sketch of the life in the area studied by the Commission, which conveys the difficult atmosphere of those years. That is why the diary is of interest not only to scholars but also to a wide range of readers. After returning home, S. A. Tokarev began to prepare for publication an ethnographic work based on the materials of his diary, but he did not have time to complete this work. Only recently, for the last anniversary of Sergey Aleksandrovich, thanks to the initiative of his daughter, Evgenia Sergeevna, these diaries were published.

Keywords: *Sergey A. Tokarev, history of ethnology, ethnological expertise, autoethnography, Trieste, diary as a source*

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RITUALS AND BELIEFS

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Original article

© Irina Sleptsova (Kyzlasova)

**TRANSFORMATION OF THE CELEBRATIONS
AND ENTERTAINMENT CULTURE OF RUSSIANS UNDER
THE INFLUENCE OF THE ORTHODOX CLERGY
(SECOND HALF OF 19TH — EARLY 20TH CENTURY)**

Both global social, economic and political factors on the one hand and personal ones on the other determine the ways in which the folk celebrations and entertainment culture transform over time. The article, based on archival, published and the author's field materials, presents the results of a study of how parish clergy affected the folk celebrations and entertainment culture, playing style and repertoire in accordance with church regulations. The activities of the priests, representing a set of individual practices, were focused on achieving a common goal — the assimilation of Christian doctrine by the peasantry and the introduction of norms of behavior corresponding to Christian ethics into everyday life, including in the celebrations sphere. The study showed that thanks to continuous efforts to introduce Christian tenets into the collective consciousness of the peasants, the priests were able to gradually transform the basic understanding of a holiday, making it more canonical, which certainly influenced the forms of folk fun. As a result, a system of temporal, locative, age-related, and action-based prohibitions emerged that define the acceptable framework of the Celebrations. They were effective regulators of behavior, performing an educational and training function. The results of the transformation of the celebrations and entertainment culture are mainly presented in two variants: 1) adaptation of Christian institutions resulting in a syncretic form, including both pre-Christian and Christian elements; 2) complete displacement of unwanted entertainment from everyday life. In general, the transformation of the celebrations and entertainment culture was a complex and multidirectional process. On the one hand, it was in line with Christian institutions, on the other, a return to «pagan» forms was often observed. Abstract concepts about the sinfulness of profane entertainment, which were transmitted by the priests, could not displace the archaic attitude towards the festive and playful sphere of life and devalue the ritual, magical and socio-cultural functions that fun and play performed in peasant society.

Keywords: *anthropology of religion, celebrations and entertainment culture of Russians, transformation of game repertoire, individual and personality factors, Orthodox clergy, variability*

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Original article

© *Maria Andrunina*

**THE LAST JOURNEY WITH NO RETURN AND RESURRECTION:
DIFFERENT WAYS OF BODY
AND SOUL IN SLAVIC FUNERAL RITE.
PART ONE: THE ROUTE OF THE BODY**

According to folk beliefs, rites, taboos and corresponding mythological explanations, the death destroys the unity of body and soul, after that different parts of that union claim diverse fates and roads, proceeding either side by side or completely apart. The soul remains some time near the forsaken body, accompanies it on the way of the funeral procession to the grave, and eventually becomes one of the ancestors. First part of the paper deals with the mythological semantics and ritual symbolics of funeral processions route to the cemetery which is very different from the ordinary human ways as it has only one final destination and no return; it locks the boundaries of the space of the living by ritual transgressing all the liminal loci on its way (threshold, crossroads, water limit etc.), provides the deceased with his or her share of common goods, disposes of the dead person items and so on. This ensures successful conclusion of a funeral rite, which has to transfer the body of the deceased to the graveyard, the soul to the otherworld and prevents it from turning into an unrestful vengeful walking dead.

Keywords: *deceased, funeral, procession, road, cemetery, crossroads, threshold, soul*

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Original article

© *Sultana Ktsoeva*

RELIGIOUS SYNCRETISM IN OSSETIAN FESTIVE RITUALS

The article studies one of the aspects of Ossetian ethnic religion as an interesting ideological complex that was formed at the intersection of a number of diverse cultures of Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the modern era. Its relevance is due to the growing tendency to study the Ossetian ethnic religion as a unique “unmixed” object, and therefore the category of “syncretism”, when applied to it, often raises objections. This study, therefore, can be considered as the author’s interpretation, as an outside perspective of the cult, of which the author herself is not an adherent. The central focus of the study is the Ossetian holiday of the Yuletide cycle Bynaty-khitsu, associated in folk beliefs with demonic forces. Within the paper, the main elements of its ritual are identified and compared with similar elements in Christianity, Judaism and Zoroastrianism. This is the first time this problem is addressed in this manner. The methodological foundation of the study is the classification of historical types of religious syncretism, as proposed by E.V. Belyaeva. In addition, as the research is synchronic, it is carried out within the framework of the structuralism of C. Lévi-Strauss, which views all cultural systems (language, mythology, religion, art, customs, traditions) as sign systems.

Keywords: ethnic religion of Ossetians, syncretism, festive rituals, Bynaty-khitsu

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Original Article

© Tokhir Kalandarov

**ANTI-RELIGIOUS STRUGGLE AGAINST TAJIK ISMAILIS IN THE 1920S
(BASED ON ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS)**

The article covers the anti-religious struggle of the Soviet State against Islam in Central Asia with a focus on the Ismaili community of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region (GBAO) of Tajikistan. The study is based on archival documents from two Russian archives — the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GA RF) and the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI). The study involved a critical analysis of archival documents, considering the context of when these documents were created. The study attempted to comprehend and scientifically evaluate the fact that the transmitters of knowledge about the Ismailis in the region included members of the Joint State Political Directorate (OGPU), who themselves had very superficial knowledge about the history of this Islamic branch. In spite of the biased approach of declassified archival documents concerning the anti-religious struggle in the early years of the Soviet State, they nevertheless provide researchers with a lot of useful information — both statistical and shedding light on the socio-political context. The OGPU members had quite sufficient information regarding the amount of zakat for Aga Khan III, the ways of delivery and the people involved in this process. These data help researchers to further investigate the socio-economic condition of religious communities, the role of their activists in establishing contacts between ordinary community members and their spiritual leader, etc. A comparative analysis of the materials prepared by government officials and the documents in the personal archives of the GBAO Ismailis is also important. They differ not only in writing style, but also in content. The anti-religious fighters, when preparing their letters and report notes to the center (Tashkent or Moscow), had the goal of promptly “ridding” the population of “religious prejudices”, while the spiritual leaders (in our case, the residence of Imam Aga Khan III) strove to preserve the spiritual bond that had developed between Imam and his followers over millennia.

Keywords: *Aga Khan III, Ismaili community, Tajikistan, anti-religious struggle, Zakat, spiritual connection*

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THE CHURCH AT THE END OF RUSSIA: HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT OF BUILDING

The article is devoted to the ethnographic aspects of building a modern Orthodox church, the deeds and personality of its investor and constructor. This is the first time an Orthodox church is considered as a social and cultural object from the perspective of historical and anthropological methods, and the actions of its creator — as a response to the social and cultural requirements and demands of the modern era. The author considers the significance of the Church of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin in Kondratyevvo as a symbol of ethnic and cultural local identity. The construction of a votive Orthodox church is a unique phenomenon in modern construction. Narratives about the construction of the Church of the Intercession, including motifs about miracles, which formed among the village church parish, eventually become a cultural text for the entire pan-Russian tradition. The personality and religiosity of the investor and the creator of the Church of the Intercession are considered. His personality is studied within the problem of “personality and history”, “personality and individuality in culture”. The author compares the process of building the Church to the spiritual perfection of its creator; his moral growth — to the construction of the church, and its construction itself is described as a spiritual process. The Church of the Intercession — a church at the end of Russia nowadays fulfills protective and defensive functions as well as canonical ones due to its location at the state border. Its significance as a symbol of ethnic and cultural identity in the changing historical context is increasing.

Keywords: *Orthodox Church, temple construction, customer, personality in history, personality and individuality in culture, votive church, mythology, motifs about miracles, identity*

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Original Article

© *Iana Komar and Alexandr Prigarin*

CHURCH AND PARISH LIFE IN THE DPR/LPR IN THE PERIOD 2014–2022: ON THE MATERIALS OF THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH OF THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHATE

In the article, the authors analyzed the circumstances surrounding the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate between the years 2014 and 2022. The following issues were considered: the evolution of the position of the UOC MP regarding the assessment of the conflict; the theological and material problems associated with this position and the internal context in which parishes and priests in DPR and LPR operated. The lower chronological frame is due to the beginning of the military conflict in eastern Ukraine in 2014, and the upper one is due to February 2022, which marked the beginning of a special operation in Ukraine and the entry of the DPR and LPR into the Russian Federation. The range of sources is represented by materials in the public sphere, including official documents of the UOC MP, news reports and statements of the UOC MP published on the relevant representative websites, sermons and interviews, comments, blog and forum entries, the legal framework of the DPR/LPR. From 2014 to 2022 the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate adopted a stance of neutrality towards the parties to the conflict, officially claiming to be outside the conflict. The available evidence indicates, however, that the clergy members who found themselves on the territory of the DPR/LPR collaborated with the authorities of the republics despite the official neutrality of the UOC MP. This collaboration was not motivated by negative sentiments or financial gain, but took the form of cooperation aimed at establishing a new shared space and fostering new meanings. Thus, religion was regarded as a crucial state-forming pillar, with the objective of social organization.

Keywords: *Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, Donetsk People's Republic, Lugansk People's Republic, victimization, Orthodoxy, parish*

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Original Article

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RADICAL ISLAM IN KYRGYZSTAN

In the last approximately 10–15 years or so, the tendencies towards radical Islamization of Kyrgyzstan have intensified, although it is not so much the Kyrgyz as the Uzbeks and Uighurs who are more susceptible to it. However, the process is gaining momentum among the Kyrgyz as well. There are several reasons for this: socio-economic problems, insufficient work with the population of traditional Islamic structures, the process of flow from the south to the north, in relation to Kyrgyzstan, expressed in the departure of the European population and the influx of visitors from more southern states, including carriers of radical Islam. Among the latter, immigrants from Pakistan are the most active, but missionaries from the Persian Gulf and Turkey are active too. Among other things, many political parties of Kyrgyzstan, some of which directly call for the abolition of the constitutional norm on the secular nature of the Kyrgyz state, have begun to actively cooperate with radical Islamists. Christian religious structures also do not work enough with the titular population of Kyrgyzstan, either because of unwillingness to work (Orthodox), or because of the negative attitude of the authorities (Protestants). In the latter case, it is necessary to point out some laws of Kyrgyzstan that do not strike at Islamic radicals, against whom they seem to be aimed, but just at those who could resist them. Nevertheless, the situation does not seem hopeless yet and can be corrected.

Keywords: *Radical Islamic organizations, Islamization of Kyrgyzstan, danger, the position of the state*

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THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF ART

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Original article

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ANTHROPOLOGY OF ART: QUESTIONS OF THEORY

The article presents preliminary interdisciplinary criteria for understanding the subject field of art in the interaction between anthropology and art studies. It is important to highlight the methodological approach adopted in the comprehensive analysis of artistic content in relation to different geographical regions. It is crucial that scholars from diverse scientific disciplines engage in the theoretical comprehension of the Russian cultural field. The authors posit that the distinctive and particular content of the anthropology of art resides in the circumstances of culture, which may be understood in three dimensions: sacral/ethno-national-religious, socio-organisational, and nature-production. These dimensions may be conceived as parts of the “matrix of being,” which is essential for scientific comprehension of the object and subjects of the discussed scientific direction. There is currently no agreed scientific or practical substantiation for the anthropological nature of art in its ethnic understanding. The systematic classification of factors of production, social and religious modes of life within the cultural context of diverse peoples, in conjunction with historical periodization, enables the introduction of a typological dimension that is characteristic of ethnic art. Accordingly, the anthropological/ethnocultural aspect of art should be examined in the context of the causal relations between the material and spiritual purpose of the ‘thing’ (human-function-form). It is important to engage in interdisciplinary dialogue on this topic, but it is essential to reach a consensus on the categories of subject matter and the conditions for their formulation.

Keywords: *anthropology of art, anthrope/man and regional and national art, canon-morpheme, cultural archetype*

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Original Article

© *Herman Ustyantsev, Galina Glukhova, Artem Ananov, Julia Sinitsyna, Irina Khomchenkova, Olga Fedorova, and Regina Nasyrova*

**LANGUAGE AS A MEANS OF COMMUNICATION
AND REPRESENTATION AMONG
THE ETHNOPROFESSIONAL GROUP
OF UDMURT PHILOLOGISTS**

The article analyzes the Russian-Udmurt linguistic environment and its professional aspects. It examines the existence of both Russian and Udmurt languages, identifies the extent of bilingualism among speakers, and assesses the relationship between language use and ethnic identity. The article presents an interdisciplinary study that combines ethnological and linguistic approaches to address these issues. It employs data from a survey based on the questionnaire of the University of Texas, which includes questions about bilingual language profiles and additional blocks on ethnic and social matters. Additionally, interviews with representatives of the language community were conducted to facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of the subject. The study focused on an ethnographic community of Udmurt philologists, which allowed us to examine the use of the Udmurt language in a context characterized by increased interest in Udmurt studies. The data for this research were collected during an expedition to the Republic of Udmurtia in December 2023. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed in the investigation. Qualitative techniques included the analysis of collected interviews, while quantitative methods entailed the analysis and graphical representation of the information gathered. The findings revealed a situation of balanced bilingualism within the studied group. The survey and analysis of the data showed that within this community, the Udmurt language serves as a means of self-identification, representation of ethnic identity, and as a primary means of communication.

Keywords: *Udmurt language, bilingualism, language environment, ethnoprofessional community, language education, ethnic identity*

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MARRIAGE AND FAMILY RELATIONS AMONG THE UDMURTS OF RUSSIA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH — EARLY 21ST CENTURIES

The article examines changes in marital status among the Udmurts of Russia in 1959–2021. Based on population census materials, both published and unpublished, a comparison with the overall Russian population is given. After the end of the Great Patriotic War, the Udmurts experienced a huge imbalance between married men and women, caused by huge human losses at the front. Later, this gap began to narrow, but was not completely overcome. On the other hand, all censuses (except 1979) recorded a higher proportion of married Udmurt men compared to Russian men. The percentage of married Udmurt women also grew higher than that of Russian women since 1989. Another difference was the increased proportion of widowed Udmurt women due to the premature mortality among men. In 1979, the demographic consequences of the Great Patriotic War were still very noticeable. In 1989, the proportion of widows among Udmurt women decreased, which to a certain extent was facilitated by the anti-alcohol campaign. With its end, male mortality rose very quickly, which led to an increase in the proportion of widows. According to a number of indicators, the marital status of the Udmurts was the best in 1989. For example, the proportion of those who were married was at its maximum, the proportion of those who had never been married was decreasing, and Udmurts were less likely to remarry compared to all residents of Udmurtia. There also was a tendency towards a decrease in the proportion of Udmurt widows. Termination of the anti-alcohol campaign, collapse of the USSR, reforms of the 1990s interrupted the positive trends and had a negative impact on the marital status of the Udmurts. Recent data suggests that a registered marriage still is valued among the Udmurts. However, the identified trends look alarming. The proportion of married people is steadily declining, the age of marriage has shifted to older categories, the proportion of widows and divorced people continues to grow.

Keywords: *Udmurts, marital status, population census, Russia*

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THE TRADITIONAL DWELLING OF THE MORDVINS: ON THE HISTORY OF CLASSIFICATION AND TRANSFORMATIONS

Ethno-cultural tradition has historically determined the type of dwelling to be constructed for a relatively long period of time. However, in response to changing circumstances, the type of residential building can also change significantly. The lack of a comprehensive analysis of the history of classification and transformation of the Mordovian dwellings in the indigenous territory of residence and in other regions of Russia represents a significant obstacle to scientific research in this field. In the context of the current surge in interest in ethnotourism and the preservation of cultural heritage, this scientific research is particularly relevant for younger generations. Information on the history of formation and classification (by the way of its vertical development, by horizontal layout and by the method of construction) of the traditional Mordovian dwelling in the Mordovian Territory / Republic of Mordovia, Volga region, Siberia was collected by the author both in the Republic of Mordovia and in ethnographic expeditions in Tyumen, Kemerovo, Chelyabinsk, Sverdlovsk, Kurgan region, Altai, Krasnoyarsk Territory and other regions of Russia (1991–2018). By vertical development dwellings of the distant past can be classified as following forms: a hut; a dugout and a semi-dugout; a bathhouse; an izba; wooden and adobe houses. According to the horizontal layout the dwellings can be classified as single-chamber, two-chamber, three-chamber dwellings, etc. According to the material and method of construction they are either made of log (mainly), clay, adobe or bricks, due to natural, economic and other factors. Outside Mordovia, Mordovian dwellings differ by material: wood, clay, stone, adobe houses; and by structure: log cabins and crosses (the latter is most common in the villages of Kalinovka, Pokrovka of the Sorokinsky district of the Tyumen region). Dwelling complexes near Mordovia in settlements in the Mordovian region were constantly changing. This was facilitated by the rise in the material well-being of rural residents. The share of two- and three-chamber housing increased with time. The process was faster in towns, more prosperous settlements, settlements located near highways, railways, industrial centers, while in the villages where the population came into contact with urban culture less often, this transition was slower. It would be inaccurate to speak of original and special Mordovian dwellings these days. The Mordvins have been living in next to the Russians for many centuries, their types of economy and building traditions are very similar. The housing of the Mordovian settlers are now largely indistinguishable from those of the surrounding population. The characteristics identified are more indicative of regional than ethnic differences.

Keywords: *dwelling, Mordva, history, classification, traditions, transformation*

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PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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Original Article

© *Ainur Khafizova, Marina Negasheva, Elena Ivanova,
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**SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL VARIABILITY OF THE ADULT HUMAN
HEIGHT OF MEN AND WOMEN FROM DIFFERENT REGIONS
OF RUSSIA IN THE 1900S–2000S.**

The present article aimed to study the secular changes in the mean adult human height of males and females across different regions of Russia. Here we present the results of the meta-analysis of a comprehensive data set on the mean heights of males from the 1900–1910s to the 1990–2000s birth cohorts among 63 regions of the Russian Federation (in over 470 groups), and mean heights of females from the 1940–1950s to the 1990–2000s birth cohorts among 54 regions of the Russian Federation (in over 340 groups). The regional secular trends of mean height were illustrated for the adult population in seven federal districts in Russia. We analyzed anthropological data using a combined approach, in which the temporal aspects of variation in body height were studied through retrospective analysis, and the spatial aspects (regional differences in adult height over a long period) were studied using cross-population analysis. The positive secular trend of the adult body height of men and women throughout the 20th century can be observed both at the national and subnational levels. During the last century, adult height of males increased by 9,35 cm (from 166,33 cm to 175,68 cm) at a rate of 0,84 cm/decade. From the 1940–1950s to the present, women’s adult height increased by 3,75 cm (from 160,06 cm to 163,81 cm) at a rate of 0,78 cm/decade. In our study, we found regional trends of secular dynamics and differences in mean height in different time slices. At the early 20th century, men of the Far Eastern Federal District exhibited the highest mean height, and at the end of the observation period this distinction was held by the men of Moscow and Krasnodar Krai. In the middle of the last century, the highest female height was documented in Pskov Oblast and Volgograd Oblast, and in the end of the century — in the Krasnodar Krai and Altai Krai. Regional differences in the spatiotemporal variation in adult human height may be explained by socio-economic differentiation between the subjects of the Russian Federation.

Keywords: *anthropology, regions of Russia, cross-population analysis, spatiotemporal variation, body height*

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Original Article

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IS THE INCA BONE USEFUL FOR RACIAL IDENTIFICATION?

According to embryological data, the interparietal part of the occipital squama develops from one primary and two secondary ossification centers. Inca bones originate from incomplete ossification of these secondary pairs during embryogenesis, resulting in the formation of distinct bones separated by sutures. This study assessed the prevalence and variations of Inca bones across both modern and ancient human populations, analyzing 3,544 crania from contemporary populations in Europe, Siberia, the Americas, Asia, Africa, Australia, and Melanesia, along with 2,038 ancient crania from the Neolithic to the Medieval periods in Siberia, Armenia, Crimea, and Eastern Europe. The highest incidences of Inca bones, exceeding 4%, were observed in isolated groups such as the Orochi (15%), Ainu (8.5%), Melanesians (6.2%), and Malays (4.8%). The results of the study indicate that there is no correlation between the frequency distribution of this trait and specific regions. The presence of the Inca bone, being influenced by genetic factors, suggests that its occurrence in certain small, isolated populations is attributable to genetic drift. Among the structural variants of Inca bones identified, an extremely rare quadripartite type was observed in a Scythian cranium from Crimea. In this specimen, both pairs of secondary ossification centers in the upper part of the occipital squama manifested as separate bones, mirroring the structure found in lower vertebrates. The occurrence of various Inca bone variants in humans may represent atavistic regressions triggered by mutations that change the timing of suture closure and cranial ossification patterns. Given its hereditary nature, the Inca bone could be crucial for establishing kinship in fossil populations and in forensic medical practice. The possibility of encountering Inca bones should also be considered during surgical procedures.

Keywords: skull anatomy, occipital bone, interparietal bone, quadripartite Inca bone, preinterparietal bone

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Original article

© Galina Popovkina

COMMUNICATION AS PART OF THE LIVES OF THE SERIOUSLY ILL

The article examines the problem of the role and meaning of communication in the world of seriously ill people, a topic of relevance for medical anthropology. The selected source material comprises autobiographical works that accurately reflect the features of the life of a sick person, including their mood and atmosphere. Memoirs and biographical literary works, which contain descriptions of real hospital everyday life, represent informants' narratives and give the researcher the opportunity to "get involved" in the observation of the problem under study. The methodological basis of the study was the concept of S.N. Trubetskoy about the conciliar nature of man, which is manifested in the need to contact people and share one's feelings and ideas. It was revealed that sick people are in dire need of communication. They value attention, equal opportunities, honesty, they barely understand negative attitudes towards themselves, deliberate infliction of emotional pain, but are ready to forgive awkward, thoughtless behavior. The disease makes them defenseless against negative contact. In situations of prolonged and severe pain, normal communication is disrupted; it sometimes becomes fragmentary, compressed, and forced. Communication is of ontological importance; the patient sees it as one of the main values of life, but the disease imposes restrictions on a person that prevent the emergence of his conciliar nature, the ability to contact other people, live and develop among people.

Keywords: *life, illness, communication, conciliar nature of man, literary works*

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Original article

© *Yulia Stadnik*

HUMAN KINETICS AS A HEALING AND MAGICAL REMEDY IN ETHNOCULTURES

Healers not only reproduce spelling and invocation texts during the healing ritual, but also perform body movements. The article uses the ethnochoreological term “kinetics” to denote the movement component of magical treatment. Traditional medicine has an extensive range of medicinal products. The article aims to show kinetics as one of them. First, based on ethnographic facts from the scientific literature about different ethnocultures, kinetic elements addressed by the healer to the patient are presented. Then, based on the materials from the author’s personal archive about the folk tradition of the Russian Old Believers living in Buryatia (the Semeyskie), the relation between kinetics addressed to the patient and diseases treated with magic is revealed. Further, the possibility of applying knowledge about the kinetics of healing rituals in the ethnological study of the folk medicine is explained. The author concludes that kinetics is used as a healing and magical remedy in ethnocultures. The obtained result can be used to study the variability and universality of the folk medicine based on detailed recorded data on the kinetics of healing rituals.

Keywords: *ethnology, magic, human kinetics, folk medicine*

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Original article

© *Elena Sorokina*

SWEDISH WOMEN'S HEALTH PROMOTION: A SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGIST'S PERSPECTIVE

The article presents an analysis of Swedish reproductive policy within the context of socio-economic factors, women's health concerns, and approaches to maternal and child healthcare in Sweden. The author examines the evolution of social consciousness and practices related to motherhood and childcare, tracing the transition from traditional worldly and social norms and rules, which involved strict observance of religious dogmas, to new forms of family structure and conscious planning of reproductive behavior within families. The author considers the need to address the demographic challenges facing the country as an important motivation for the Swedish social policy since the 1930s. It is evident that economic growth and positive changes in the socio-economic environment have played a key role in the success of the 'family' policy. The social rights and opportunities of Swedish citizens, including the implementation of programs aimed at women's health, have been guaranteed by the state. The implementation of state family policy has facilitated enhanced opportunities and accessibility for Swedish women, enabling them to develop their own life strategies, not only in the labor market but also in the context of their own health. Significant components of this social policy encompass implementation of suitable reproductive policies and material assistance to diverse categories of families, whether engaged in labor market activities or childcare responsibilities.

Keywords: *women's health, children, family, social policy and infrastructure*

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Original Article

© *Valentina Kharitonova*

TRANSFORMATION OF TRADITIONAL ORIENTAL MEDICINE IN THE MODERN WORLD

The article examines one of the most important modern issues concerning the development of traditional medicines: their transformation into TMS — traditional medical systems. It is known that in some Asian countries (China, India, Vietnam, etc.) such TMS legitimately exist since the middle or end of the XX century; they are institutionalized and structured similarly to the conventional/biomedical healthcare system. TMS operates there in parallel with and in close interaction with the main medical system, with biomedicine as the primary educational basis for specialist training. Healthcare in these countries includes in its unified system a parallel with a second ministry or department, a complex structure of university training of specialists, specialized hospitals and clinics of various kinds — either separate or organized on the basis of complementarity, different pharmaceutical bases. At the same time, TMS, primarily from India and China, have long since spread to many other countries of the world and, as complementary or alternative forms of medicine, strive to form global forms (for example, the concept of “global Ayurveda” is already being used).

The article first of all considers the specifics of the terminological apparatus associated with non-conventional medicine. Further the author analyzes the current situation of TM and TMS as it has developed to date in foreign countries, and compares it with what has been happening in the last three decades in the Russian Federation, primarily in the Republic of Buryatia and the Zabaykalsky Krai. Traditional medicine was initially introduced there with the practice of Buddhist lamas and with written sources from Tibet through Mongolia; later the Buryats on the basis of translated sources developed a relatively independent branch of Buryat-Tibetan medicine, which back in the XIX century spread first to St. Petersburg, and then to other cities and regions of the Russian Empire. Nowadays, in the main centers of traditional medicine in Buryatia and the Zabaykalsky Krai, the institutions of a medical system have been formed, making it possible to create a full-fledged TMS — a parallel, but closely intertwined with biomedicine branch of healthcare, which can easily become an alternative branch of healthcare in the Republic of Buryatia, where the traditional Buryat-Tibetan medicine has been institutionalized within the healthcare system since the 1980s. Currently, the Center for Oriental Medicine and its units are receiving a significant number of combatants for rehabilitation and are actively working in the field of restorative medicine.

Keywords: *traditional medicine (TM), traditional medical system (TMS), Buryat-Tibetan traditional medicine (BTTM), traditional medicine, complementary medicine, alternative medicine*

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TRADITIONAL FOOD, PLANT AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS IN BASHKIR FOLK MEDICINE

This article is devoted to the study of the use of foodstuffs, herbal and animal products within the context of traditional Bashkir medicine. These remedies have been widely used both in medical practice and as preventive measures. Often the use of these remedies was accompanied by a complex system of verbal magical rituals and ceremonies. The rational experience of folk healing based on the use of these treatments constituted the foundation upon which official medicine was subsequently formed. The development of science and the interaction of cultures of different peoples gradually expanded the range of traditional healing methods used in Bashkir everyday life. However, to date, the people have preserved ancient methods of treating certain diseases, their own healing techniques, which allows us to speak about the demand for this field of knowledge in our days. This is due to both the availability of the tools used and their time-proven effectiveness.

Keywords: *traditional medicine, Bashkirs, rational treatment, magic, spells, food*

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CONVERSATIONS WITH TIME

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Original Article

© *Andrey Belov and Andrey Rybin*

WAS THE VIRGIN LANDS CAMPAIGN A VENTURE? TO THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NEW LAND USE

The issue of developing new lands continues to be relevant in our country and around the world. On a global scale, the world's population is actively growing, people are increasingly bringing undeveloped lands into the agricultural cycle, thus increasing the space for living. On the world stage, Russia ranks first in terms of land resources that need to be further developed. Proper use of vacant land will give our country the opportunity to solve the problem of food security and become independent of food imports from abroad. In addition, it will be possible to increase the export of food products to other countries. The purpose of this work is a comprehensive review of the historical experience of the Soviet Union in the development of the virgin lands in the middle of the 20th century. In particular, the study pays attention to the problem of participation of the Upper Volga economic region in the development of the virgin lands. The study is based on scientific and research literature and on archival data. Using the method of regional research, it was possible to determine the volume of work done by the people of the Upper Volga region in the virgin lands of Kazakhstan in 1954–1956. The results of the study revealed that in the first years of the development of the new lands in the Kazakh SSR, the people of Ivanovo, Kostroma and Yaroslavl managed to organize 13 new grain farms on their own, to staff collective farms and state farms with qualified personnel, thereby laying the foundation for the development of virgin lands infrastructure. We came to the conclusion that the personnel from Upper Volga played a notable role in the development of the regions of Northern Kazakhstan. Today, the Republic of Kazakhstan is the largest producer and exporter of wheat, the gross harvest in 2022–2023 amounted to 16.4 million tons. In many ways, today's success is based on the economic transformations of the mid-20th century, when agricultural and industrial infrastructure was built in the empty steppe.

Keywords: *Kostroma, development of virgin and fallow lands, personnel, motives, the working process*

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Original article

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NIKOLAI F. MOKSHIN ON THE ETHNIC HISTORY OF THE CHUVASH

This is the first time Professor Mokshin's publications devoted to ethnic history of Chuvash people are analyzed. The article addresses various ethnonymic issues, historical and geographical works, as well as anthropological, archaeological, ethnographic and folkloric passages. The author of these lines recollects Nikolai Fyodorovich as an impetuous man, an uncompromising debater who knew how to raise a new point to clarify any dispute. Thus, so far, Academician M. N. Tikhomirov, member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, was considered to have put an end to the discussion about whether the 'Veda' ethnonym had been applied to the Chuvash. However, N. F. Mokshin noted that there was actually an uncertainty in M. N. Tikhomirov's observation. When M. N. Tikhomirov spoke of the Chuvash, he meant the Cheremis, the Vedas, or the Burtas. Therefore, N. F. Mokshin provided a clearer historiography of the identity of "the Veda = the Chuvash". He also undertook expeditions to Mordovia, Chuvashia and the Gorky Region to find out how the ethnonym 'Veda' was used by the Mordovi-ans. At the same time, he was the first to show that Mordovian names and surnames were derived from the word 'veda'. It is probably no coincidence that it is among the Mordovians that one can find people with Chuvashov surname. N. F. Mokshin also wrote about the affinity of the peoples of the Volga and Urals regions in terms of their traditional practices and beliefs, insisting that the Bulgars and Suvars were two different peoples, not one. He used numerous facts to show the process of the Kypchakiza-tion of the Tatars and, consequently, the Tatarization of the Chuvash. N. F. Mokshin's works are distinguished by their topicality and novelty.

Keywords: N. F. Mokshin, ethnography, history, Chuvash, Mordovians

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